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and son, form a gardening group who coöperate to raise vegetables. The coöperative work group is composed of a man who needs help in performing some major task, such as clearing a garden site or building a house, and those of his relatives who are willing to help him in return for the feast which he and his wife must provide for them. A larger cooperative work group consisting of men from all the hamlets of the subtribe, builds a house tamberan; and the men and women of the hamlet that is benefited provide the feast. The women of a hamlet unite in informal groups to carry on what little fishing is done.

The trading group meets on appointed days once or twice a week. It is composed of women from one or more hamlets in the sib who bring sacks of sago flour, their male relatives who go to protect them and to gossip, and men and women from the river tribes who bring fish.

Warfare, too, is carried out by a definitely constituted group. The raiding party consists of adolescent and adult males from one or more subtribes who unite for a head-hunting expedition. The whole subtribe, including women and children, is mobilized to greet the returning warriors and celebrate a victory dance and hold a feast.

Kwoma culture specifies who shall perform the necessary legal functions of the tribe. The final authority in disputes between members of different hamlets in the subtribe is a court held at a neutral house tamberan and attended by adolescent and adult males from the whole subtribe. Disputes between subtribes are settled by a court of the men of both tribes meeting on neutral territory. In none of these courts are there legal specialists; each man's opinion is valued in accordance with his prestige in the community.

Religious activities are performed by the yam cult. This cult is divided into three sections: *Yenama*, *Minjama*, and *Nokwi*. Every Kwoma boy in the subtribe is elected during adolescence to either *Yenama* or *Minjama;* young men of promise are inducted into both sections. *Nokwi*, the highest stage of the cult, receives only men who are of high prestige and who have taken a head.

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dancer, and man of great personal courage. He had two wives, Bora and Kuma, but Bora left him during my stay in the hamlet, taking with her her young daughter Toka. By Kuma he has had three children: Mana and Haya, girls of approximately eleven and eight, and Suw, an infant son. Ham, a nephew, about seven years old, also lives in the household. Kar, the next younger brother, is an intelligent young man in his middle twenties who returned from working in the gold fields just before our arrival and who speaks pidgin English fluently. He has two wives, Difa and Yame, but no children. Kis, the youngest brother, like Kar, worked out a three-year contract in the gold fields and speaks pidgin English. He also has two wives, Sunga and Amba, but no children.

Down another fork in the path, a few rods from the house shared by War, Kar, and Kis, stands that owned by Yat (household 5, family line 1), a stocky, volatile man a year or so older than Kar. He is the only man in the hamlet who has learned pidgin English working in the gold fields and has also taken a head. He has two wives, Kafa and Gege, and one son, Njan (John), born shortly after my arrival at Kwoma. There are no other members of Yat's line living in the hamlet.

Very near Yat's dwelling is one owned by Way (household 6, family line 3), a rather spindly, sneaky man in his forties, who has some reputation as a sorcerer. With him live his wife Mbwimbwi, his two adolescent daughters, Famba and Gwanta, and his two young sons, Merik, just weaned, and Kadowan, a few months old. Way also has taken care of his nephew, Gwamp, ever since the latter's father, Takawur, was driven from the hamlet for attempting to rape War's wife.

About fifty yards down a steep path from Way's house is the dwelling of Waramus (household 8, family line 7), who is about fifty and the oldest man of the hamlet. He is slightly cross-eyed and has a reputation for sorcery equal to that of Wof. With him live his wife Nawa, his eighteen-year-old son Mes, his sixteen-year-old daughter Aya, a young son Kwos, a boy of about eight, and Yimba, who is the wife of Mes and

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cumstances this is the case, but a dispute over property, the abduction or rape of a woman, or a head-hunting murder may break off these safe relations. Visiting then takes place only at the risk of one's life, until the matter can be settled. Finally a foreigner may sometimes steal, trespass, or encroach upon Kwoma land.

Safe relations with another tribe are reëstablished after a dispute by means of an intertribal court. After the heat of a dispute has cooled,[49] the adult males of the two tribes arrange by gongs to meet at an appointed place on neutral territory. They all carry daggers and spears to be prepared for treachery and to give force to their arguments. The two groups face one another, and a spokesman advances from each in turn to present the case of his tribe. Each spokesman accentuates his speech by slapping a flat board on the ground. Often the two representatives stand close to each other, chests out and eyes flashing, and jab bone daggers over one another's shoulder. Just as in the intratribal court, it is important not to flinch, so only the most courageous of the tribesmen act as spokesmen. Such courts are most commonly held to settle territorial disputes, to arrange the payment of a bride-price for an abducted girl, or to decide on a wergild for a head-hunting murder.

Open warfare between New Guinea tribes is infrequent, and the Kwoma are no exception. A war was waged in the time of the grandfathers of living informants. It began with a territorial dispute with the people who inhabited part of the area that the Kwoma now occupy. After a prolonged series of raids and counterraids, the Kwoma exterminated all but a small remnant of the enemy, who fled to another location. During the war, the Kwoma captured the leader of the enemy. They dragged him to one of their house tamberans and trussed him to the center pole. Then they held a dance around him, jabbed spears into him, spat at him, and otherwise tortured him. Finally they killed him, cut him up like a

[49] Informants said that it was of no advantage to hold a court when "bellies were hot with anger," as it would probably end in a fight.

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727 [266] Finally they killed him, cut him up like a pig, and made soup of him. Only the adult males were allowed to eat the soup,[50] and it was believed that they were thus made such brave fighters that they were able to conquer their enemies.

726 [721] The head-hunting raid provides the most frequently employed means of expressing aggression toward a foreigner. Such a raid is planned in advance, and allies are often recruited from friendly neighboring tribes. A careful itinerary is drawn up, and an unsuspecting and weak hamlet is chosen for attack. The men meet before setting out on the raid to eat a ceremonial soup. They travel under cover of darkness, arranging to arrive at their destination just before dawn. Then the men quietly surround an outlying dwelling and stand with spears poised while two of the boldest of the attackers creep toward the house. When they reach the entrance they let out a blood-curdling scream and kick the door down. The other attackers join in the shouting and in spearing the dazed occupants as they rush from the dwelling. When the attackers have killed the whole household, they rush to other houses in the hamlet, hoping to catch and kill some inhabitants who have not awakened at the outcry and fled. Then they return and behead the corpses with a bamboo knife. They carry the heads home. When they near their own tribe, they set up a victorious shout and dance into their hamlet, holding their trophies by the ear in their teeth. Then follows a victory dance which lasts for several days and nights.

727

721 554 [994] A man is impelled to go on a head-hunting raid to gain prestige, as well as to avenge himself on a foreigner. No man is eligible to join *Nokwi*, the highest grade of the yam cult, until he has taken a head. Until he belongs to *Nokwi* he cannot plant yams, nor is he considered to be a man of importance in the community. It is the *Nokwi* members who have the greatest weight at the court sessions. Furthermore, a man

[829] [50] This is the only occasion in the memory of informants that the Kwoma had practiced cannibalism. They showed disgust and contempt for those tribes who ate human flesh and betrayed some shame in reporting the above incident.

October 25, 1936.

101 69 Last night Kum and War visited and we talked about the political divisions of the tribe. They said that the Waskuk and Bangus together were called Hongwam, and that Urambanj, Tangwishamp and Koriasi together were another [197] group called kuome.* These all speak the same language, so they said, and 101 inhabit adjacent mountains. Other adjacent tribes are the Yambon on the river to the south; the Yelagu, one day's walk to the east; and the Numsu, 173 three days north-west; and the Kamburu, five days north-west. Before the 721 whites came, they made raids on all of these people to kill them for prestige. 726a large number of them would creep up on a hamlet at night, surround it, and fall on the sleeping inmates with much yelling and shouting. They would kill only those who were near at hand; those who escaped were not followed. [411] They used spears for weapons. Kum and War would not admit they either took [527] heads or were cannibals. The former was the custom of the river people; the [264] latter they had heard of being done on the Markam river.

Hamlets, house tamberans and their history.

173 The Ngaya occupied the present site of Ambunti--the mountains and the adjacent sago swamp. At the time of the grandfathers of the present generation, they were bow and arrow people who killed and ate the Hongwam people. Later when they went to work they would strap pigskin shields to their backs [648] and breasts to protect themselves. Finally the Hongwam called together the Malu, Yambon, Yasi, Nowel, Avatip Urambanj, and Koriasi and they wiped out the Ngaya. A few Ngaya ran away and were absorbed into the people living at Yelagu, but the rest were killed. One reason for getting rid of the Ngaya was that the Hongwam had no sago and were living on the sap of the breadfruit tree.

* Probably Kwoma

173 At the beginning of the fight they speared Woyo, who was the leader
727 of the Ngaya, and his wife Mbuta. They killed his wife but Woyo was just wounded in the leg. They bound him to the central post of the house tamberan and tortured him there for several days by spitting betel pepper in his face and prodding him with spears, while they gathered food for a ceremony. Then they danced around him poking his face with lighted torches.
[266] At dawn they killed him, cut him up like a pig and made soup of him. Those who ate this soup became very strong and bold and thus were enabled to kill the rest of the Ngaya.

173 The Nowel people came next and settled with the Hongwam. The Yasi came later and settled on a small mountain by the lake. Later they were driven out by the Yambon and Hongwam and went to their present site at Yessam. Today the lake separates their land.

173 Originally there were two hamlets of Hayamakwo sib--Ambunti and
621 Hambundu. A third hamlet was formed when a dispute arose over someone's
614 defecating in the Hambundu house tamberan. The group which split off called
361 themselves Sumwe Sumwe (without) because they were too small to build a
[578] house tamberan of their own. In 1928, Ambunti and Hambundu were burned down. The members of these two hamlets combined to build Rumbim, at present the largest group of the Hayamakwo. Members of Sumwe Sumwe, plus a few others who did not agree with the present site of Rumbima, formed another hamlet and have built a small house tamberan called Cumbeya Nampara. Ngwisempɵe and Weyanokw were segments of Hayamakwo which split off. Ngwisempɵe is now situated at Wenyabunkura and Weyanokw has been reabsorbed into Rumbima.

The Tug people lived up the Sepik far above Yessam. They came down and settled at Urambanj for a while but left there for lack of food and came to

726 As the occupants of the house rushed out, he would spear them. Those who
[411] escaped his spear would rush into the spears of the men surrounding the
[714] house. (They all would carry three spears and shields and be ornamented.) Then, if the alarm had not been spread, they would go to another house and continue until all the people belonging to this house tamberan were either killed or
[727] had fled. Then they would burn the house tamberan and leave. Only heads of the handsome adult men would be taken (Yambons take all heads.) The Soual Urambanja of the other house tamberans would not help but would run away as soon as the alarm was given.

April 15, 1937. The raiders have not started. They fear treachery because no one came from Tangwishamp. They have all gone to Wenya to talk things over. Mar came back with the news that the raid was all off--that a man had come from Tangwishamp saying that the water had gone down so that the creek which they had planned to use was closed up. They will go later when the
[648] road is passable. I asked him if he thought that one reason why they gave it up was fear that the thought of hanging played a part in their putting off the raid. The reactions of Mar and Mas yesterday suggest it did.

124 Tofokaman came to visit this morning and has hung around all day. His wife is visiting at Wof's and Mar's. His wife is Mar's sister. Sof and another young man, ("Dr. boy") came and sat around for a while. "Dr. boy" brought up the subject of my losing things and said that the lads were innocent and that he had seen Marok with my tobacco. After lunch they went down to Rumbiman house tamberan. Mar came in and told me that he had made an arrangement with Mbwimbi and Gwanta, to get Mas's sister Uka down to a certain place to catch fish. Mar is to meet them there and take Uka to his garden house. He will come back in the late afternoon. He asked me not to tell Mas, and to protect him